1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

As in Lakemba, so in Mbau; the Ndau is the only one who may wear a turban in a gathering of chiefs; this is a custom from old times. They also wear turbans in Thakaundrove and everywhere. Levukans also get the head of the pig in Mbau, and if Mbauans come to Lakemba and get a pig they send the head to the Levukans. It has something to do with border people or "teeth" (*mbati*); but the head of the fish is for the chiefs of Mbau.

The Levukans used to go to Mbau to install every new Vunivalu as Tui Levuka. They have not installed the last two; but if the present one wished it, the Levuka people would "make him drink." (See p. 69.)

The *tauvu*[1] of Levuka is Nandave, once a village of eight clans, now merely a clan adjoining Mualevu village. Levuka and Nandave have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Other *tauvu* are Nasau and Namathake in Koro, and the island of Mango the inhabitants of which are now in Namalata, Vanua Mbalavu.

Lauandoko

Lauandoko, the Country, as distinguished from Tumbou and Levuka, includes the villages of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Vakano, Nukunuku, Narethake, and Yandrana.

The clans of Wathiwathi and their sides of the oven are:

1.	Nanduruvesi	{ Nakanoru { Talikimamana
2.	Mataivungalei	Mbukanitunga
3.	Veikau	{ Naseuvou { Vutuna { Takalai

Nanduruvesi are the nobles. Nanduruvesi is the Tui Naiau's oven emplacement; in other words, they make feasts there for the Tui Naiau. Veikau are the people of the land (*kai vanua*) and they worked for Tui Wathiwathi; they are also teeth (*mbati*). It was formerly a strong clan and counted two mighty men. The succession of Tui Wathiwathi has been: Jujua, Songgulu his "brother," Jujua's son, Songgulu's son, Songgulu's son's son.

Waitambu (Holy-spring) formerly planted food for Tui Wathiwathi, and joined that village in war. The village has the following clans and sides of the oven:

Nanggalitoka	{ Valeiloma { Navai
Rakuta	{ Ndako.o { Nanggalia { Matan.wai
Lomaitilou	{ Lomaitilou { Nakambuta
Nggawaleka	{ Tandulu { Mbatiniwai { Nanduruvesi

[1] [For definition of tauvu, see ch. 16, pp. 199-201. -- Analyst]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

wangga there is no precedence, because they have different mothers. The reason why I do not speak in Salesi's presence is that Salesi comes first in Vatuwangga, because Kilai, Salesi's father's father, was Taliai's eldest son. The reason why I may not speak to Liwaki is that he is a descendant of Malani, the eldest son of Rasolo. Liwaki may not speak to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, because Liwaki is the son of a younger brother. Yet Salesi may converse with Liwaki because they are brothers through their mothers.

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Thus the statement that there is no precedence in the clan must be qualified: there are certain persons whose birth makes them great within the clan. Thus the late Rasolo, the third Lord of Naiau's daughter's son, was reported to have been a strong-minded man, perhaps because he prided himself on his rank: his mother was the daughter of Taliai, older than all the children of Taliai except the eldest son. In jest I was set down as Melaia Lutu's son, and told on that account I might send on errands the son of Melaia's "little sister"—by European reckoning, a cousin. The rank and file of the descendants of Niumataiwalu, ancestor of the nobility, however, lived on terms of easy familiarity.

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The avoidance between own brothers seems to be connected in the minds of the people with the avoidance of brother and sister. The same avoidance as that between brother and sister is exercised between aunt and nephew, aunt and niece, uncle and niece, as between uncle and nephew, and between a man and his wife's mother, whether *veivungoni* are uncle and nephew or father-in-law and son-in-law. Respect is paid to the father's sister if she is older than the father, but not if she is younger. A woman will use respectful language (*vaka rokoroko*) to her elder brother's son. I could hear of no special functions of the father's sister.

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According to Lakemban custom, a man does not use terms of respect to the mother's brother if the mother is the elder, whereas in Viti Levu the polite adverb *saka* is user regardless of precedence. The High Chief's elder sister's eldest son is greater than his uncle, because his mother is the elder sister, but he follows the Mbauan custom, not being acquainted with the Lauan; he uses the term *saka* and the second person plural in addressing his uncle; he generally sits at the lower end of the house while his uncle sits at the top. The Chief can speak to his nephew, but "it is difficult for his nephew to answer." They only could converse in private. The Chief on the other hand used the second person plural to his nephew, but not the word *saka*; he would keep away from the school grounds because his nephew was there. They never walked together, though indifferent as to which of them went first. Sometimes at kava the High Chief would pass on his cup to his nephew.

The mother's people are frequently referred to collectively as "your uncles" and a man would be told to "get a wife, as is fitting, from your uncles."

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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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A nephew is spoken of as *vasu*, which appears to be a title, not a real kinship term. It does not take the suffixed possessive; *vasunda* is not used in this connection, but *nonda vasu*. A man is constantly described as *vasu* to such a place, or to such a clan, never to an individual. Frequently when a man's name has been forgotten, he is still remembered as "the *vasu* to Totoya," or "the *vasu* to Tonga." Historical accounts constantly specify the place to which a personage was *vasu*, or discuss the point, if forgotten. This is especially true with the older generations of the pedigrees. The term is never applied to a woman.

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There is a verb *vasu-ta* which describes the nephew's seizing of any property that belongs to his mother's people. A son of a Naivi man by a Tumbou woman says:

> Formerly a *vasu* could take such things as pigs, and yams, etc., from the mother's people. I could take a pig belonging to the Lord of Tumbou. Roko Liwaki and Ratu Salesi could take things from Naivi, because they are *vasu* to it. If a *vasu* wanted taro he would stick reeds in the taro patch he wanted or sound the conch over the taro. Joshua would know then, "Oh! Liwaki or Salesi has stuck reeds among the taro." This meant the *vasu* had taken possession. The expression used was: "the taro patch has been stuck with reeds" (*sa sauni tu a mbiti mai ka*); the reeds were called *i sausau* [that is, the thing used to prick]. Other wood was used besides reeds.

The tendency nowadays is simply to beg (*kerekere*), not to take without leave, for the Government treats the exercise of the right as theft. It may be noted that the *vasu* to Tumbou may take the Lord of Tumbou's pigs, though the Lord of Tumbou is not "his uncle," however distantly. It is more accurate, therefore, to say that a man can seize the property of his mother's brother's clan, than that he may take the property of the mother's brother.

The uncle, on the other hand, had a right known as *vakambale i titoko*, "causing the staff to fall." One informant says, "If Salesi or Liwaki took Joshua's taro, Joshua would take some of theirs in return. It will then be said the staff falls. One must do *vasu* first, then make the staff fall afterwards, not before." Another says a nobleman may send for a thing belonging to sister's son "that the staff may fall, if a staff falls on a thing, it is damaged." Still another is not quite certain, but he thinks it is right for the nephew simply to take anything he likes, while the uncle, for anything he fancies, sends to the nephew, who cannot refuse. He also applies, doubtfully, the expression "making the staff fall" to the nephew's appropriations as well as the uncle's, but he is alone in this. The uncle's privilege seems but little exercised; only one informant mentioned it spontaneously by accident; whereas no one can be long in Fiji without hearing of the nephew's right. Although the uncle may in a way recoupe himself, the nephew's

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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right is a burden (*ka ni onga*) because the nephew exercises his right recklessly (*vakasausa*) and to an excessive degree (*rui valata me sivia*).

The father of the boy who is a *vasu* to Naivi will make a feast called *vakatoka masi*, putting on the loin cloth for the people of Naivi. Much stuff is given to Naivi; then the boy has the right to *vasu;* otherwise he may not *vasu*.

Some *vasu* are spoken of as great *vasu*. A man may be *vasu* to the whole of Lau. Thus one Mbauan chief who was *vasu* to Lau was a great *vasu* because through his mother, the daughter of the second son of the second Sau, he had in him blood from Lakemba, Ono, Moala, Totoya, and Matuku. He was "a wide *vasu*, he covered the whole of Lau." If a great *vasu* came to Lakemba, he wore a train in front and one behind.

Another reason given was that he was *vasu itaukei* (possessor, owner, native), which may be translated native *vasu* or home *vasu*. A man of Thekena defines a home *vasu* as "'a noble who is *vasu* to us, the owners of the land." He thus takes *itaukei* (owner) to refer to the "owners of the land," that is the Tumbou half of the village. The same informant adds that this Mbauan chief was home *vasu* because he was *vasu* to Thekena, who were noble (because of his father's mother). The view that the home *vasu* is a nobleman who is *vasu* to the people of the land, that is to the heralds or the Tumbou half, is borne out by six of the seven cases which I have noted: Soroanggali, mother from Narewandamu or Thekena; Vuetasau, mother of Tanggalevu, Roko Dhovu, mother doubtful; Tione Wesile, mother of Waitambu, which is subject to Thekena; Uluilakemba I, mother from Thekena; Uluilakemba II, on account of his father Vuetasau.

Of old the home *vasu* alone was important in Lau. The *vasu* to Mbau and the *vasu* to Thakaundrove had no other title, and were treated almost as strangers for they had little prestige. Nowadays the office of home *vasu* bears less weight, and that of the *vasu* to Mbau is important only on account of the Government. Formerly only the home *vasu* was a great nobleman. That is why Soroanggali said to his younger brother Taliai, who was *vasu* to Totoya, "Be you chief that I may look after you." He himself had quite enough power without the chieftainship.

A man will often speak of himself as belonging to his mother's land. That does not mean that he does not belong to his father's country, but merely that he is at home in his mother's country.

The verb *osi* (to foster, bring up, adopt) is a term of very wide meaning. Children are not adopted in the European sense, for they continue to be considered the children of their father and mother, and relationships remain unaltered. Thus, a boy of my acquaintance did not become the brother of his adopted parents' son, but remained his sister's son (*vungo*). A small

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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clared that in the old days if a woman came and arranged the nobleman's bed she was reckoned to be his wife; so Kasa was set down in the clan of Vatuwangga; but his children, though their mother came from Tanggalevu, were never quoted as "home nephews." The eldest but illegitimate daughter of Uluilakemba II did not enjoy the prestige or the honors given to her younger sister, the eldest of the legitimate children. Discussing a love-match one said:

> They were not brought together by the chiefs; it was only a love affair, the children of such a marriage are not noble; they are only noble by fluke [*sic*]. According to Fijian custom they are brought together in state (*vakanamuani vakaturanga*); the offspring are then noble. Thus the High Chief was a noble youth before his birth.

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The man who impressed me as coming next to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, in importance is Salesi. Yet in the order of the precedence Tuimereke, the only surviving son of the late Lord of Naiau, was always put next to Ratu Finau, as "the little father of the other nobles." Next came Roko Malani, who is the oldest nobleman and is senior in the generation which comes next to Tuimereke. These two are spoken of as "great nobles" though described as "small nobles" in comparison with the High Chief. On the other hand, Tui Mereke's eldest brother's son's son, Salesi, speaks of Tuimereke as "quite a junior." The High Chief's nephew is positive that Salesi comes next to Finau, and says that as young boys in Mbau they were treated as equals. Only nobles are supposed to eat off wooden dishes in Mbau, and the people of Mbau objected to Salesi following this practice, but the elder sister of Thakombau, "King of Fiji," ordered that Salesi and Finau eat out of the same dish. For Salesi represents the senior branch of the second ruling house in Lakemba; he is the only man in Vatuwangga of his generation whose descent is flawless and in the male line. In short, Salesi being the senior branch is the bigger man, but Tuimereke as his "grandfather" takes precedence. Some of his importance in Lakemba is doubtless due to the fact that he is through women connected with every village in Lakemba except Wathiwathi, Vakano, Waitambu and a good deal of Lau.

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Although the High Chief has an elder sister, he as High Chief eats before all others. There was much difference in the respect paid to his elder and to his younger sister; the elder seems to be in a class apart.

Polite Address

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Inferiors use the title Roko before the name of a nobleman: Andi or Yandi, before that of a gentlewoman—as Roko Malani (Sir Malani), Andi Tupou (Lady Tupou). In Moala, Roko instead of Andi is used for women.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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of great importance, much care being exercised in its use. It is never accorded to Europeans, except to the Governor and Native Commissioner. All salute the Lord of Naiau in this way, except Salesi, who never uses the *tama* to any one. All Tumbou, including Tuimereke and Roko Malani, but excluding Naivi, use the *tama* in addressing the chief's elder sister's son; and all do so in addressing the chief's elder sister. All country folk address it to Tuimereke. If they meet the great man on the road they put down any burden they are carrying and either standing or squatting, sing the *tama*. None but countryfolk will use the *tama* to the Lord of Tumbou.

In speaking respectfully to a person the natives speak more slowly, emphasize the stress, pitch and accent, and drag out the last accented syllable. A small man always sits down when speaking to a great man; all do so in presence of the Lord of Naiau.

THE TURANGA

The word *turanga* is usually translated "chief," which is misleading, for it also has other meanings. In the singular, it may refer to "the Chief"; in Lakemba, to the High Chief, the Tui Naiau. It may also be used in referring to some particular noble or merely have the force of "gentleman." The minor chiefs are referred to as *turanga ni vanua* or *turanga ndina ni vanua*, the chiefs of the land, or true chiefs of the land. A village headman is *turanga ni koro*, and the chief of a clan is *turanga ni matanggali*. In the plural, *turanga* usually refers to a group of nobles. If a member of one of the four clans Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, Koroithumu is asked to what clan he belongs, he will probably say "the nobles" (*ko ira na turanga*). The word is here used in the sense, as it were, of "the Royal Family," who are not chiefs, but gentle-folk, descendants of Niumataiwalu, and therefore known also as "Children of the High Chief" (Luve ni Sau). This meaning is the commonest in Lakemba, where it is used also of the whole of Tai, as opposed to Tumbou, or the Land. In speaking of *turanga* the villagers may refer either to the nobility proper, or to the whole of Tumbou. To many Fijians *turanga* merely means "those at the head of affairs"—the chief, the leading members of the nobility, and the chief's elders. I translate the word as chief or noble, gentleman or gentry, whichever the context seems to call for, though this introduces a definiteness which may not be involved in the original.

The term *ngone turanga* means literally noble youth, but is used of people of mature age. It applies to the whole family of the High Chief, old or young, even a bastard. In the Southern Islands it would be used of the High Chief's father's younger brother, who is eighty. The term is never applied to minor chiefs, and is, therefore, essentially confined to the nobility and might be rendered "prince." I once heard it used of "the sons of the

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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of the High Chief were respectful to them. They cooked for them on board. If they foregathered there was no youth there. The noble youth was of no use in the affairs of the country. The old men drank kava and ruled the land; a noble youth would not be present unless it were to make kava. Later on he would be able to pronounce upon matters: he would know what the men of old had decided.

The custom of "bearing the Sau" or "lifting the Sau" (*thola Sau*) has been discontinued. It is described thus:

> The Chief formerly had a nobleman to "bear his reign," to work for his reign. He bore the stress of it, the Chief leaned upon him. If the father dies, the Chief appoints one of his sons to bear for him, to be his hand and mouth."

Tione Wesele filled this office because he was energetic, enterprising, and brave. The Lakembans feared him because of his energy. If at a ceremonial kava, a lowborn man went to the top of the ring or did something wrong, Tione Wesele would drag him out. If a bad feast were sent in, he would send it back, or seize and whip the givers.

Carpenters, called *matai*, are highly respected in Lau. Two men, Tiafau[4] and Lemaki, coming at different times to Lakemba, established two houses of hereditary carpenters, the titles and the positions of carpenters to nobles. In the Lemaki family the title passes from father to eldest son.

The Tiafau family, who came from Tonga in Christian times, were originally heralds to the Tui Tonga, and later achieved the craft by the skill and strength of their hands. They were experts in making drums (*nafa*).

Lemaki was originally a chief in Manono, in Samoa. With a relative, Leha, he went to Tonga to seek timber for a war canoe; there, hearing of timber in Fiji, they went to Lakemba, and took up their residence with the nobles. For, Lemaki's son having been killed in Ono, as the price of blood and price of work, the nobles of Lakemba asked his family not to return to Samoa, and gave them the land of Lekutu, where they still live.

A clan of Lemaki is in Nggalinggali; some of the family are in Taveuni and Nairai.

The first Lemaki was succeeded by Manokotiale, his son, for in this family the son of the chief wife (*alewa mbau*) is the successor; not the brother, as in Fiji. His son Vulivuli joined the Naivi faction and was killed in the civil war in Naiau. His other son, Maopo, succeeded. He had seventy wives.

Of old the Lemaki merely superintended the work; but later descendants worked with their hands. The Lemaki did not plant but served the nobles, which gave him the right to appropriate pigs, yams, or reserve a crop for himself; he could do so anywhere in Lau, whether the crop belonged to a

[4] Or Taunga, I am not certain as to the title.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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noble or a commoner. In return for this he built canoes for the people. This continued under the late Tui Naiau during the building of the Fane, a canoe in honor of Fane, the daughter of Ratu Erone who protected Lemaki in the exercise of his right, but cautioned him not to impose it on the common people who might prosecute him, but only on the nobles who dare not object.

VILLAGE CHIEFS OF LAKEMBA

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In each village there is a chief usually bearing the title of Tui. The chiefs are spoken of as "the old men of the countryside." Except the Lord of Nasangalau and Tui Soso of Nukunuku, they are not honored in Tumbou, but only in the country.

The chief of Nasangalau is usually known as Ramasi, Sir Cloth. He is the cloth for Natokalau,[5] whereas the Lord of Tumbou is the cloth for Navuaira. The *masi* are those that rule the land. Formerly the two "Cloths" would discuss anything that was intended, war, a potlatch, a feast. When they had decided they reported to the Lord of Naiau, who approved. The chief of Nasangalau also bears the title of Tui Natokalau. It is doubtful whether the third title of Tui Nasangalau is ancient. One man says the chief is first called Tui Nasangalau, then installed as Ramasi.

Except the people of Nasangalau, no one in the North salutes this chief with the *tama;* but they all use this salutation in front of the door of Ralovo, who lives in Nasangalau but whose mother was a great lady of Tumbou.

Vakano is a lowborn village. They go about Natokalau with folded arms. The chief is now called Tui Vakano, but of old there was no such title, because a god was called Tui Vakano. The old title was Tui ni Mata, Lord of the Face. Evidence from Vanua Levu shows this to mean "Lord of the Grave."

The chief of Nukunuku is called Tui Soso, Lord of the Field, after a large extent of low land near the village. The people of Tumbou say there was a god called Tui Nukunuku, but the people of the place know nothing of this. The present chief is a Tongan. The nobility of Nukunuku is extinct. Formerly Tui Soso was a man of importance and could wear a turban in Tumbou.

Yandrana are not lowborn like Vakano. They are termed the *mbati ki Lakemba*, that is, "teeth" or "edge for Lakemba." "They stand on the edge; the nobles lean upon them." They fight for Lakemba. The old title of the chief is said to have been Vata ni Tawake. The present one of Tui Yandrana is a government one.

[5] *Masi kei Natokalau* not *nei*, of; *nei* is never used in this expression.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

It is rare that a request is refused. Excuses have to be invented. Property, in consequence, changes hands very rapidly, especially if it is anything novel. The stuff a man receives at a ceremonial exchange or festival is sometimes begged off him when he gets home. Prizes are not much of a reward, as they may not remain in the winner's hands more than a day.

The government discourages begging and an anti-begging league was founded in 1905. The custom found a champion in the Native Gazette (11, July, 1905):

> This Fijian custom is not wholly bad; it is well merely to correct it. What is Fijian begging? Begging is the requisition (*lala*) of the common folk. See, the commons in Fiji cannot make requisitions; for requisitions are the chief's part. But what are requisitions? Requisitions are begging on a very big scale; they have not ceased, but are allowed by the law. Well, the commoner has begging as his only requisition. It is plain as day moreover that there is not much begging without return. If you come and beg my lamp because you are hard up, presently when I am hard up for clothes I shall beg some of you: so my lamp will be paid for. According to Fijian custom it is hard to refuse, because it represents paying, or trading, or the mutual aid of kinsmen. It is plain also that there are men who are humbugs (i.e. who don't play the game, but abuse the custom), because that is the way of the world. That is the end of the argument, now turn to the evil of forbidding people wholesale to beg, as you are doing; the chiefs, they are free to go on putting levies upon us but then we are undone by it since we are forbidden to beg. Who is the commoner to approach you nobles and say, "Please pay me, Sir, for what I have done, or for the food I have brought," or whatever it be? Impossible. If your requisitions cease, your calls on us (*mata*) your proclamations, your pomp (*vakaturanga*), then will begging cease.
>
> There are two forms of begging in Fiji. One is begging without return after the fashion of chiefs, that is bad and should be given up. But there is also a begging when in want which is payment for work and other things, and it is right and expedient to preserve it. But it looks as though you were prohibiting both, that we commoners may die twice in consequence we shall be made to work and it will be forbidden to us to beg in return. The ancient times were better than now. The carpenters built canoes; they worked without pay inasmuch as it was a requisition on them; they were fed while it went on, and they delivered the canoe. The feast of the workers (*otho*) was finished, but there was still to come some reward. Wait till you see some stuff in the possession of the chief; they will go and beg for it.

The Fijian is shrewd. Under an appearance of lavishness he counts the cost of everything, and if, at a ceremonial exchange for instance, he does not receive the full value of what he gave, he will take the balance in prestige and admiration. If a man cannot make a full return in kind for what he has begged, he will be under an obligation and have to do all kinds of services for his neighbor. The critics of Fijian begging all reason *a priori*. The facts are there to prove that the practice does not work as they think it should. As a matter of fact, the hard worker is always better off for his rank than the lazy man, and more influential, unless he is a man of no personality who does all the work of the clan and does not exact

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

all they would willingly give him in order to retain him. Joshua and his brothers were the hardest workers among the nobles; Joshua had the largest house next to Big House, and built for his brother Isoa the finest home for size and decoration combined; by hard work and forcefulness he had attained an importance quite out of proportion to his real rank. Nowhere have I found hard work to be so esteemed as in Fiji.

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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

was in the habit of warming himself in the sun in the morning. The cry of Valelailai was *Screivalu*, one of the god Tui Lakemba's names. 726

Captives are called *mbombula* (caught alive). They were despised. Should a man of Nasangalau who had been a captive come and speak in Tumbou he would be shut up with the words, "You are a captive." The custom of taking prisoners is said to be ancient. The Tongans of Lau in Christian times made prisoners on a large scale; whole villages were brought over to Lakemba to work for one to ten years, then the Lord of Naiau said, "Let So-and-so take them back to their village." Then a nobleman of Tumbou would take them home, build them houses, and come back. The captives would some day bring a feast in return. 727

VICTORY

For a slain enemy a drum was beaten (*lali ni mbakola*). Those who had slain a man blackened their faces, wore a train and a turban, and were finely dressed; they sat on the upper deck of the canoe, singing a *thimbi*: *"To alewa, tangane, veitho* [four times], *salia."* (Women's side, men's side, intermingle, passage [?]). In the West and in Thakaundrove the girls sang obscene songs called *ndele* thus: 727 554 [B1]

You are like this
We are like this

alluding to sex.

The manslayer stands in the village with his club on his shoulder and the gentlemen and ladies come and place before him plentiful gifts, for which no return is expected. He is said to *thouvi* or *thovi*, and the gifts are termed *i thouvi* or *i thovi*. Then they give him a new name: Koroi or Dog, or Canoe, or comb of some big nobleman, thus Wanggaimalani, Seruimalani, meaning that Malani embarked upon him to be saved, or he combed things out so that nothing might be tangled, but Malani might pass. When a man had slain two or three men, he was called Shark; if six he was Tawakeono. Seven flags; if ten, Tawaketini. These were names of mighty men. Now Koroi is used of academic degrees. 727 554 431 551

A man saved by another remembered the deed, and sooner or later, it might be ten years, gave him plenty of stuff (*i yau*), and his descendants would remember it and save the descendants of that man. Such gifts were called the thing for a life (*ka ni mbula*). If a man saved the High Chief, Roko Sau would give him a daughter as wife, or give him land, and remember his family. 431 577

Peace is called *sautu*, from *sau*, chief, rule, sovereignty, and *tu*, standing, chief, state. The same word also means prosperity, plenty. 196

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

milamila), consisting of a pointed stick about 35 cm. long made of *mbau* (*Pittosporum brackenridgei*), was used. 515

Some old men wear beards, but most men shave their faces at least once a week, usually with a piece of glass. [302]

Nails are bitten off or cut with a knife.

Most Lauans bathe daily in the sea about sundown. There are no specific bathing places for men and women, but the sexes do not bathe together. Frequently perfumed coconut oil is rubbed on the legs, arms, and hair after the bath.

Men and boys over the age of six wear a kilt (*sulu*) wound round the waist and knotted. It extends to the knees and is made of a piece of trade cloth, gunny sack, tapa, or leaves. The upper part of the body is bare except on festive occasions, when an imported cotton undershirt or shirt is worn. The men wear ornaments only in the dance. Formerly they wore boars' tusks (*mbatchi ni puaka*), perforated at one end and hung on hibiscus bark, or an orange-colored bivalve (*sopui*) neck ornament. Aged informants say that the outer surface of the shell was polished with a stone and sand. The perforation appears to have been made with a sharp, pointed drill. Armbands (*nggato*), made of a shell called *leru*, were worn just below the elbow by both men and women. 291 301

Formerly the ears of men and women were pierced with a bamboo knife and were weighted until they hung to the shoulder. [304]

Sandals (*i vava vulu*), made of coconut husk and bound to the feet by means of tapa, are worn to cover a foot wound. An eyeshade (*matai iri*) made of a plaited coconut leaf is worn occasionally as a protection against the sun.

Young girls and women wear skirts of trade cloth which reach from the waist to the ankles. The skirts of little girls from six to fourteen and of women working in the bush or on the beach hang just below the knee. The upper part of the body is either bare or covered with a sleeveless cloth blouse, which adds to the social prestige of the wearer. Young women formerly wore a short fringe (*liku*) made of hibiscus bark, or the leaves of ti, *nunu* (*Ficus*), *sitchi*, or *vono* (probably *Alyxia bracteolosa*). The women wear practically no ornaments except when dressed for the dance or for ceremonial occasions, when they hang a wreath (*salusalu*) of the dyed inner bark of the hibiscus, fragrant leaves, and flowers around the neck. [554] [824]

GEOGRAPHY

The Lau or Eastern Archipelago of the Fiji Islands is situated between 16° 43′ and 21° 2″ south latitude and between 178° 15′ and 180° 17′ west longitude (fig. 1). It is a chain of about 100 small islands and reefs extending 131

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Nggilo was formerly composed of three subclans: Nggilo, Wairoa, and Koro. Nggilo and Koro are practically extinct. The title of chief of Muanaira is held by either Nggilo or Wairoa. Emba is divided into three subclans, descendants of three brothers. The subclans are named Embalevu, Nararaithake, and Nararaira. Embalailai formerly had two subclans, Embalailai and Nalovoloa. The latter is extinct.

NAIVINDAMU

The hamlet grouping of clans is clearly seen in the ground plan of the village of Naivindamu. The two clans of the village form local units, Lingau occupying the northeast part and Toka the southwest. Lingau has two subclans, Vunituitui and Lingau. Vunituitui on the northeast side of the Lingau clan-hamlet holds the hereditary clan title of priest. Lingau on the southwest side holds the clan title of chief's administrator. Toka also has two subclans, Nawi in the center of the clan site, and Toka on either side of Nawi. It holds no titles. The people of Naivindamu belong to the land phratry.

NAITHULAIANGA

The land of Naithulaianga village on Ongea is divided into five parallel strips owned by the four village clans as follows: Tumbesara—with two strips, one for each of its subclans, Tumbesara and Nggaralevu—Mata, Tawalo, and Nggalileka. Both Tawalo and Nggalileka would have died out in the last generation had not the only surviving members, one female in each clan, carried on the line. Part of the land of these two clans is used by the Tumbesara clan, which stands in the *vasu* (p. 63) relationship to both. Some of the land is used as the village ceremonial ground.

The natives of Ongea remember only four or five generations of their pedigrees, which are all traced to ancestors born on the island. Mata and Nggalileka belong to the land phratry. Mata is reputed to be the oldest clan on the island. It holds the title of chief of crops. Nggalileka holds the titles of chief's administrator and envoy to Lakemba. Tawalo belongs to the sea people and holds the clan titles of master fisherman and chief of the ceremonial ground. To Tumbesara belongs the title of chief of Ongea, and clan members say they belong to the chiefs' phratry; but this affiliation cannot be proved by the clan pedigree.

RANK

The social organization of Lau is keyed to a deep-rooted and elaborate system of rank. Not only each phratry, clan, subclan, family and individual, but also each village and chiefdom holds a definite rank in the scheme. The historic division of society into phratries forms the broad basis for the ranking system. The land phratry constitutes the lower class of society while the other four phratries constitute the upper class, the chiefs' phratry ranking highest.

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Clan Titles

554 618 The rank of a clan is determined not only by its phratry affiliation, but also by the hereditary clan titles (pp. 48-53) held by its clan headman (*turanga ni matanggali*). Although the highest clan titles are held by the clans belonging to the upper class, some titles belonging to the lower class (such as the herald, *mata ni vanua*, to the high chief) take precedence over some noble titles. However, the clans in each class are ranked and the sum of hereditary prestige held by those in the upper class is much higher than that held by the lower class.

Theoretically the headman of the highest ranking clan is the high chief of Lau and to him all islands pay tribute. The chief is assisted by officials who hold graded hereditary clan titles. Chiefs or minor chiefdoms are headmen of ranking island clans. They receive tribute from the villages of their petty domains. They, in turn, have graded assistants.

High Chief

[554] 643 The title of highest rank in Lau is the Roko Sau, chief of Naiau. He is the chief of Lakemba and Naiau islands, and he is the high chief of Lau to whom all the islands in the chiefdom pay tribute. The title of chief of Lakemba, which he should logically hold also, exists in Fiji only as the ceremonial title of a forefather god. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 219), the gods, Tokairambe and Tui Lakemba Randinandina, are the sons of Ndengei who ranks supreme among the gods. The title of Tui Lakepa (Lakemba) is found in Tonga. (See also Gifford, 9, p. 34 and Hocart, 13, p. 44.)

The title of Roko Sau Tui Naiau is held by either one of two subclans, Matailakemba or Vatuwangga of Vuanirewa clan. Succession depends on the rank of both parents, on seniority, and on personal ability. It was formerly determined by a council of clan elders. Hocart (15, p. 51) writes:

> . . . It appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

Colonial government officials now take part with the clan elders in appointing the high chief.

[554] Formerly the high chief had one principal wife, a woman of high rank chosen either from Lau or from one of the other chiefdoms in Fiji, and several secondary wives (*i solonga*), women of lower rank, from Lakemba or the outlying islands. The relative rank of the offspring of the chief depended upon the rank of the mother. Children of the principal wife were called *turanga*, those of the other wives *i kaso*. Now the high chief has but one wife.

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THE ISLAND CHIEF

620 554 Each island has a chief (*tui*) who holds a definite interisland rank, indicated, as is the rank of the island, by the order of presentation of shares at an interisland feast.

The chief of Kambara formerly held highest rank among the island chiefs. He received tribute not only from Kambara, but from Wangava, Namuka, and Komo. Although the chief of Kambara is still respected and feared, he has lost some of his former prerogatives. The first fruits are presented jointly to him and to the village headman by Tokalau only.

The chief of Mothe is of high rank because of his relationship with Vuanirewa, Tumbou (p. 38). He still receives regular, annual tribute of first fruits from all the clans on Mothe.

The chief of Fulanga of Vunikoro clan and the chief of Ongea of Tumbesara clan hold a lower interisland rank. Each, however, receives an annual offering of first fruits from the clans on his island.

The headman of Toyovu subclan of Nasoiya clan on Namuka has recently been given the newly created title of chief of Namuka. No offering of first fruits is presented to him because, according to the natives, there is plenty of food on Namuka, and the tabu on first fruits, which conserves the supply by preventing the inhabitants from eating green fruit, is not necessary.

622 624 The island chiefs perform functions similar to the high chief but on a descending scale, depending on their rank. They are sacred repositories of powerful clan mana inherited from strong ancestral forefathers. They are highly respected and are protected by tabus and etiquette. They have their assistants: a herald, a master fisherman, a chief of crops, or chief's administrator, a master carpenter, an envoy to Lakemba, and a chief of the ceremonial ground. They collect tribute from the villages within their domains in the form of first fruits, feasts, and property on important ceremonial occasions, such as the chief's installation, marriage, death, and canoe and house building.

ASSISTANTS TO THE CHIEF

624 There are several assistants to the chief who rank below the island chief but whose relationship to one another is not clearly defined today. These are the chief's assistants, who have charge of the administration of his chiefdom. Precedence among them differs according to island. The functions of these officers are not rigidly fixed. Seniority and personal skill often help to determine their duties.

The herald (*mata ni vanua*), a hereditary title held by a clan in the land phratry, is the chief's first assistant. He acts as the chief's spokesman and master of ceremonies and receives and presents gifts on behalf of the chief. The title of herald occurs on the islands of Kambara, Namuka, and Fulanga. It is absent on Mothe and Ongea where the duties of the herald are performed

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chief of Tokalau. Undu village has a chief called Tui Undu. He is from the Valakevoro clan and receives a village offering of first fruits. The village of Muanaira has a chief from the Nggilo clan. 622

The title of chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui ra* or *tui rara*) is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land group. Presentations of food to the chief and subsequent distributions to the people take place on the ceremonial ground. The duty of the chief of the ceremonial ground is to divide the food so that each clan receives its share, according to rank and size. 624

Clan titles, now obsolete, but formerly found on Kambara are chief headman (*sau turanga*), held by the Nanggara clan headman; master of war (*mbatchi ndau ni valu*), held by Matasoata or Valakevoro clans, Undu; food master (*mbatchi ni kakana*) held by Nawi of Lomatchi. 618

Rank within the Clan

Rank within the clan is regulated by the principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage. The direct descendant of the first-born (*ulu matua*) son of the originator of the clan holds the highest rank within the clan, and of subclans which comprise the clan his takes precedence by seniority. The elder of either sex takes precedence over the younger throughout the lineage in each generation. Rank within the clan is discussed on pages 58-64. 618 554

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP

Marriage

Formerly polygyny was practiced by high ranking men who could afford several wives, especially by the chiefs. Monogamy, however, was the rule among people of lower rank. Polyandry was unknown. Today, as a result of missionary influence, Lauan society is monogamous. 595 593 797

Cross-cousin marriage

A man preferably marries his *watchi* (cross cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter, real or classificatory), but not all marriages fall within the preferred type. Formerly it was not uncommon for a chief to take two sisters as wives or for a man to marry the sister of his deceased wife. It is not rare for a man to marry his brother's widow. 582

Clan exogamy is the rule and a study of interclan marriage based on clan pedigrees shows that there is a tendency for certain clans to intermarry. This tendency is strongest on Ongea and Fulanga and weakest on Kambara and Mothe. It is probable that cross-cousin marriage is also more frequently practiced on the two isolated southern islands of Ongea and Fulanga and least on Kambara and Mothe. The genealogies from the five islands visited are not sufficient to furnish conclusive data on this point. 582 618

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membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land. He is, however, given the use of a piece of land belonging to the clan with which he is associated. Actually, the illegitimate child often remains with his mother's people.

The greatest prejudice is against half-caste bastards, called *kai loma* (people-in-between). If their fathers are European they are said to have no clan at all and therefore lack membership and rank in the community.

Relationship Terms

The principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage regulate the rank of the individual within the clan. Older siblings and their descendants outrank young ones. The oldest son and his descendants hold the highest rank and inherit the clan titles. The first-born, male or female, is called the old head (*ulu matua*) and is honored by special pregnancy, birth, and initiation ceremonies.

Seniority is expressed in the kinship system by means of terms with age significance. For instance, a line is drawn between the older and the younger brothers of a man's real father (*tama*). His father's older brothers are designated by the term *tama levu* (big father), his younger brothers by the term *tama lailai* (small father). A man's older brothers and the sons of his *tama levu* are designated by the term *tuaka*; his younger brothers and the sons of his *tama lailai*, by the term *tachi*. A corresponding distinction is made in regard to the sisters of a man's mother and their sons. These differentiations reflect social attitudes expressed in behavior patterns, by which younger siblings and their descendants honor older siblings and their descendants.

It should be noted, however, that the terms with age significance are alternates for more comprehensive terms without age significance. For instance, the term *tama* (father) includes the father's brothers and the term *tachi* includes a man's brothers and male parallel cousins. In other words, there is a complete set of kinship terms without those which specify relative age. It is probable, therefore, that the age designating terms and modifiers and the principle of rank they reflect have been incorporated into a system without age and rank significance.

The Lauan kinship system is of the classificatory type. It is based on cross-cousin marriage. Kinship terms are not used as they are written in the following list, but are always followed by a possessive suffix which has been indicated by a hyphen. For example, the word *tama* (father) is never used without a possessive suffix as *tamanggu* (my father), or *tamana* (his father). Terms of address, however, are used without a possessive suffix. The same kinship term is used whether the speaker is male or female unless indicated by ms (male speaking) or fs (female speaking).

1. Tama-: Father, father's brother, father's father's brother's son, father's father's sister's son, spouse's mother's brother, and the husbands of all women designated by *tchina-* (*2*). The term *tama- levu* (big father) is used to specify the

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604 606 618 land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (*vakalutulutu*). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of [177] property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *faiu* (*vasu*) institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

554 576 Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the main rules of the polite (*vakarokoroko*) etiquette toward persons, whether related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance [867 558] relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

554 576 In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes. 98 Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal rela- [84] tionship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

The chiefly greeting (*tama*) consists of the exclamation, "O . . . . oa!" All chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly [682] etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand in the respect relationship.

554 576 Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower end of the house (*sue*), extending from the main entrance (*katumba i sue* or *katumba kumba i ra*) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of the house (*mbuto ni vale*), the main section between the supporting posts, is

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semi-private. A visitor remains in the lower end of the house unless especially invited by the owner into the middle of the house, which is reserved for relatives and people of high rank. The upper part of the house (*longgi*) is reserved for the owner. A visitor may enter a house by the entrance at the lower end only, unless he is especially invited by the owner to use one of the two side doors (*katumba yasa*). A close relative of the owner may use either side door. A private door (*katumba kumbu i thake*) at the upper end of the large house is used for removing dead bodies from the house.

When a visitor enters a house, he stoops to show respect to the owner. Formerly, according to natives, stooping was necessary because of the low doorways. In the house the visitor sits down immediately. Both men and women sit with knees flexed and legs crossed, the men with both feet resting on the floor. Old natives say that women formerly sat with knees flexed and feet on one side. The Tongan women sat with knees flexed, legs crossed, and one foot resting on the floor while the other rested on the opposite knee. Today women sit in either fashion.

A crowd sits in formation similar to the kava circle (p. 69), the highest ranking visitors along the side walls toward the middle of the house, those of lower rank (including women and children) near the main doorway. Occasionally the men sit on one side of the lower end and the women on the other. When a ranking individual enters a crowded house a place is made for him according to his rank. To take his place, he walks in front of and not behind the other guests. Natives say it is forbidden to pass behind, because in olden days a man might club another from behind.

Presentation of Gifts

Most ceremonials involve the presentation and reception of gifts. They are based on the ceremonial presentation (*sevusevu*) pattern, which varies in detail according to occasion and participants. The gifts consist mainly of first fruits, kava, cooked feasts, whales' teeth, tapa, mats, canoes, and wooden bowls.

First Fruits

The ceremonial presentation pattern is a variation on the one formerly used for the offering of the first fruits of the land (*sevu ni vanua*) to the priest at the god house. Today first fruits are presented to the chief. The following ceremony, recorded at Undu, illustrates the pattern.

The chief of crops offers a bunch of coconuts (called *i vono ni vanua*) to the chief, who sits in the center of the upper part of his house. It is received by the chief's herald, who sits to the right of and lower than the chief.

Chief of crops: with bunch of coconuts bows at the door of the chief's house cries, "O . . . oa" (cry of welcome to chief).

Herald: "Vinaka" (Very good).

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small feast called the *i vaka mbongi tchini* was held by the relatives. On the hundredth day a feast called *i vaka mbongi ndrau* was held, and the mound over the grave was faced with oiled pebbles and hung with garlands of fragrant leaves. 764

Death of an infant

A female infant of six months, the first-born of a young couple of the noble Vuanitavola clan, died in Tokalau one day at about noon. 766

The close female relatives began to wail loudly after the death and continued until the burial procession left for the cemetery at about four o'clock in the afternoon. The immediate family of the deceased sat on a large piece of tapa at the upper end of the house and fanned the body, which was resting on a folded piece of tapa and covered with oiled white cloth. More distant relatives, weeping silently, sat in the lower part of the house. There was no talking aloud or laughing in the house. At intervals during the afternoon gifts of mats and tapa were presented ceremonially by relatives from Tokalau and Lomatchi.

Finally the body was placed in an imported camphor-wood chest, which served as a coffin. The chest was slung on a pole with ropes and covered with a piece of tapa. It was carried in the funeral procession by two men. The baby's grave was fitted into the cemetery where there was room near his relatives' burials. The funeral service was performed by the native missionary. After mats and tapa had been placed in the grave the coffin was lowered into it, the head toward the north. (Adults are usually buried with the head toward the east but informants say that orientation of a baby does not matter.) One of the men laughed when shoveling sand into the grave because the sand fell onto the coffin instead of onto the wrapped corpse, as is customary.

The death feasts were postponed for a few days because of preparations for the visit of a chief.

The death ceremonies for the child followed the same pattern as those for the young man, but differed from the man's in that the wailing for the child was louder and more prolonged, gifts were more plentiful, and the details of burial were less carefully executed. The child was a first-born of high rank and died in her own village, whereas the young man, although a noble, was born on another island. [554]

Death of an old woman

When an old woman of about seventy, belonging to the Mbete subclan of the noble Vuanikathu clan, died in Tokalau, the wailing and presentation of mats began immediately after death and lasted for about two hours. The funeral took place in the afternoon and was attended by a few old men, old women, and children. No young men or unmarried women were present. Before the grave was filled the mourners talked and joked freely. The death feast which was small was postponed for six days to allow the Vuanikathu clan (which neglects its garden land) time to collect the necessary food. 764

Disposal of the body

In pre-Christian times the dead were usually buried in caves. Skeletal remains as well as spears, clubs, grave sticks, and parts of canoes are found

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342 **Wall thatch.** For thatching the walls of dwelling houses *ngasau* (*Miscanthus japonicus*) reeds are preferred because of their durability, but on the limestone islands where *ngasau* reeds do not grow, wall thatch is made of coconut leaves. Coconut leaves for thatch and sticks of wood (*mbola vatu* or *langakali*) for thatch supports (*latu*) are gathered by the men of the village. The coconut leaves are placed in piles and left for three or four days to soften. On an appointed day the men of the village meet to erect the wall thatch. The old men plait the coconut leaves and the younger men remove the bark from the *latu* sticks and place them around the wall at regular intervals, about 60 cm. apart and 30 cm. in the ground. Their height is determined by the height of the wall plates.

The thatching starts on the right side of the front entrance, at one end of the house, just below the roof. It is done in pairs, one man standing inside the house does the tying, the other outside handles the thatch.

First, two thicknesses of thatch, placed with thick lower ends toward the doorway, are tied with a piece of sennit to a thatch support (*latu*) just below the roof. The same piece of sennit is carried downward along the thatch support (*latu*) and used to tie the thatch, which are placed one below and outside the other, about 8 cm. apart. To tie the thatch the man inside pokes a pointed wooden needle (*sau*), threaded with a piece of sennit, through the thatch just below the midrib and just on the other side of the thatch support. The man inside loops the sennit over the needle point and pulls through, making fast a half hitch. The process is repeated until the last thatch is fastened about 3 cm. above the ground. The leaves of the lowest thatch lie on the ground outside.

The thatching proceeds away from the main doorway. A second panel is placed and tied like the first. When the side door is reached one thatch (called *onaliku*) is placed vertically and tied in with the horizontal rows of thatch (which are thin at the upper ends) so that the left side of the doorway may be the same strength as the right side, which is formed by the thick lower ends of the coconut leaves.

The house usually has four entrances (p. 65).

[554 531] Occasionally a few cowry shells are tied with sennit to the wall outside a large house. These shells formerly were a symbol of rank used only on a chief's house or other property, but now they are used merely for decoration. On some houses an extension (called *loru*) of the upper ridgepole projects about a meter beyond the roof on both ends of the house. The natives say it is purely decorative. It frequently is a separate piece of carved wood and it usually curves upward into a thickened end. On a house in Muanaira, Fulanga, it consists of an old pineapple club.

Final Ceremony. When the mats have been laid, the *kanusiri vale* (spitting upon the house) ceremony is held. If the owner has plenty of food, this feast is attended by the whole village, otherwise by only a few close relatives. The guests sit in a kava circle in the house, and kava is served. After drinking, each man spits and tosses the dregs from the cup onto the floor at the side of the house, or against the wall. A feast is served after the kava ceremony.

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373 ing it with *mbu* juice to the bottom of the coconut shell, or by inserting it into a coconut leaflet knotted in the form of a cross (called *lakamba*) at the bottom of the coconut shell. A small amount of boiled coconut oil, called *molia*, is poured into the shell and the wick is lighted. Sometimes the wick is inserted into the flesh of a half coconut or papaya and used in the same way. Boiled coconut oil used for lighting is made by grating ripe coconuts, straining the gratings after they have stood four nights, and boiling the oil. The natives say that oil lamps were not known before the Tongans came to Lau. According to Moto of Undu, little light was used at night in the olden days because the natives feared enemy raids.

Torches are made by splitting the upper ends of five or six coconut spathes (*mbarawa*) tied into a bundle or held together by hand. The split ends are lighted. Six or seven *ngasau* reeds bound together are sometimes used as a torch.

352 The floor space of the house, with the exception of the space under the couch (*vata*) and the hearth, is covered with coconut-leaf mats (*tambakau*), laid over coconut leaves or beach sand (*langere*) according to a definite pattern. The floor under the couch is covered with pebbles. In a house with four supporting posts the mats are arranged as follows: one central row of mats, placed end to end, extends down the middle of the floor from the main entrance to the *longgi*. On each side of the central row is another row of mats, placed side by side. One row of mats placed end to end, extends around the interior of the house (excluding the *longgi*) behind the supporting posts next to the wall.

Floor mats of pandanus are placed over the coconut-leaf mats. Properly, according to the natives, one large mat, called *i thoni* (*tevutevu* in the Mbauan dialect), should cover the central section and extend into the lower part of the house and one small mat, called *kotokoto*, should lie across the upper end of the house. The *i kotokoto* mat is used by the owner and people of high rank. This arrangement is, however, seldom seen today. Three floor mats usually cover the floor: a coarse mat at the lower end, a finer mat in the middle, and a fine mat at the upper end of the house. Every house contains a few large smooth stones or blocks of wood used as weights to hold the mats down when the wind blows.

A large, high couch, called *vata*, composed of a wooden frame covered with mats, occupies the uppermost end of many houses. The couch is from 70 cm. to 1.5 meters high. Its length is determined by the width of the house between the main supporting posts, and its width is about 1 meter less than the depth of the upper part of the house (*longgi*). In a few houses owned by ranking men, the couch is screened from the rest of the house by a large piece of the highly valued Fijian tapa, hung from the tie beam with sennit. The natives say that formerly there was no couch and that the floor of the upper

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The process of making mats from pandanus leaves proceeds as follows: 285

The leaves are cut from the pandanus trees in the dry season. The spines are removed from the midrib of each leaf and the spiny edges of the leaves are cut off by means of a *kuku* shell. The leaves are spread on the ground in the sun (a process called *singa ni kie*) during the day and taken in at night until they lose their greenness (about one week). Each leaf is cleaned and flattened with a *walui* shell. Holding one end of the leaf in the left hand the mat maker scrapes the leaf away from the body with a shell held in the right hand. Twenty or more leaves are rolled into a large coil (*vakaveveu*) and tied with a piece of pandanus. The coils are rolled in a mat and stored until needed.

Before plaiting the dried leaves are flattened out with a *walui* shell. Then the mat maker, relying on her eye, splits the leaves with a *kuku* shell into the required widths for wefts. She begins splitting at about 30 cm. from the base of the leaf and works toward the pointed end, away from her body. Then she turns the leaf and, with the pointed end toward her body, splits about 20 cm. toward the base end, so that about 10 cm. are left unsplit.

The plaiting (*toli*) is commenced by crossing two butt strips. Plaiting techniques are simple. The basic technique is the diagonal check weave of single wefts which vary from 3 mm. to 4 cm. in width. One, two, and three twill weaves are used for ornamentation. The wefts in the border are usually narrower than those in the main body of the mat.

To make very fine, white mats the pandanus is prepared by a slightly different process. The green leaves, after having been stripped of their spines, are rolled into coils, tied, and boiled in fresh water for about half an hour. After the coils are untied and unrolled and the leaves are straightened by pulling, the leaves are dried in the sun for several days. The following types of pandanus mats are made in southern Lau:

Floor mats. *I tholo* is a large coarse floor mat used in the lower part of the house. *I thoni ni vale* is a fine floor mat used in the upper part of the house. *I tevutevu* is a floor mat with a wool border. Fine floor and sleeping mats are preferably fringed with imported yarn in bright colors. The value of mats is measured to a large extent by the number of rows of wool in the border. A mat completely bordered with wool is called *mbatchi wa vivi*. A mat with a wool border only on one side is called *mbatchi ndua*. 285 352

Sleeping mats (yambe ni mothe). *I kendre levu* or *i tonggitonggi* is a mat about 2 meters wide and 3 meters long made of rather narrow wefts. It is sometimes decorated with a border of wool and occasionally with black geometric designs. Sleeping mats are placed on the floor at night and rolled up in the morning. *Mbatchi mbara* is a large mat used to cover the couch (*vata*). The edge of the mat facing the lower part of the house is ornamented with several rows of wool. *I kendre lailai* is a mat used for infants (*yambe ni ngone*). It is soft and consists of fine wefts about 45 by 60 cm. *Tambu kai si* (forbidden to low ranking commoners) is made only on the island of Ono. The wefts are very narrow and of triple thickness. It is a rare, valuable mat. The only mat of the *tambu kai si* type I saw was in the house of the chief of Nggalinggali on Kambara. The mat was 2.7 meters long and 1.8 meters wide, [554]

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851 553 names, but all children have at least two names; a Lauan name and a Lauanized biblical name. They receive the latter at a Christian baptism ceremony held in the mission church.

851 602 431 On the day of birth and for two or three days afterwards the mother and child are visited by relatives from both the mother's and the father's clan. The relatives bring small gifts consisting of roasted ripe coconuts, mats, barkcloth, and oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony, and are received by the paternal grandmother. They belong to the child's parents. This is one of a series of competitive affinal exchanges which begin with betrothal and continue throughout the marriage relationship in Lau. They serve to emphasize the relationship of the individual in a patrilineal descent group not only with his father's but also with his mother's clan.

846 For at least four nights after the birth, a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and mother's clans sleep in the house with the mother and child. Formerly the women stayed for ten nights, but the government has tried to discourage this custom on account of the drain on the economic resources of the child's father, so now they stay longer than four nights only if the child's father can feed them without straining his resources.

852 The most important birth feast is held on the first or second day after the birth. The birth feast of a first child, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The kin of both father and mother provide and prepare food for it, whereas only the father's kin do so for subsequent children. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village; if not, the [554] feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a [848] child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided by the mother's kin only.

On the fourth day another ceremony is held. The mother bathes in the sea for the first time since the birth. She is

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accompanied by her mother or another near relative. The 852
group of relatives who sleep in her house go fishing to secure
sea food for a small feast for which the father provides the
garden produce. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close
relative, is presented with barkcloth or mats. The barkcloth
in which the newborn infant has been wrapped is removed for
the first time and the child is given a steam bath in the house.
No men are allowed to be present. Leaves of a certain plant
(called *varo*) are placed in a special oblong wooden bowl. A
hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over
the steam. When the leaves cease to give forth steam the
child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the
navel.

On Fulanga the feces of the infant during the first few 854
months are wrapped in barkcloth and kept in a basket hung
on the wall of the house. The natives say they are still a part
of the child and discarding them would injure him. If the [753]
basket of excrement is removed too soon the child will have
diarrhoea. For the first child the basket must be kept longer
than for subsequent children. After 100 days the father
throws the first child's basket over the reef into the sea, and
frequently marks the spot with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish
there until after the ceremony which celebrates the child's first
birthday. The father does not need to erect a tabu stick, but
if he does so he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is [554]
lifted. The feast adds to his prestige, as well as that of the
child and of his clan. The excrement basket for a subsequent
offspring need be kept only until the child shows that he is
gaining strength. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu
and no ceremony is held on the child's first birthday.

On all the islands a feast is held when the first child is one 852
year old. If the parents' and child's clan are prominent, this 431
is a large feast, marked by the ceremonial exchange of mats, 602
barkcloth and other property between the father's and the

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occasionally run away and live together in the bush. At the end of our stay in Tokalau, canoes arrived from Mothe to take a young woman of the village to Mothe to be married. In the morning the girl was nowhere to be found, and it was discovered that she had run away to the bush with a young man. The Mothe canoes had to return without the bride. The pair usually stay away until the anger of their relatives and especially of the young man's father has somewhat abated. At first they are berated in the village, but gossip soon dies away. When the pair return to the village they are accepted as man and wife. A wedding feast may or may not be held.

Marriages differ in size and importance according to the status of the inter-marrying clans. The marriage feasts and ceremonial gifts not only reflect but also determine the social status of the participating clans, who try to outdo each other in the quantity and splendor of their gifts. It is, however the young man's clan which in the long run contributes the larger quantity of food and property. The man's clan sets the date for the ceremonies, which are usually held in harvest season when food is readily available.

The marriage of a couple belonging to low ranking clans is a small affair, but that of a couple belonging to clans of high social standing involves the exchange of large amounts of property and the consumption of quantities of food. Preparations for the wedding feasts and ceremonies are begun months ahead by both the youth's and the girl's relatives. The work is shared by the men, who are responsible for the garden produce contributed by both sides for the marriage feasts, and by the women, who provide the barkcloth and mats for the affinal exchanges. An important wedding is discussed far and wide, and is attended by relatives from many villages and islands. The marriage of a high chief at Lakemba is a historic event, and a drain on the economic resources of the whole group. It is attended by representatives

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of the leading clans of Lau who present food and property from every village in the group.

I attended a wedding in Naivindamu (pronounced Nai-vi-en-dá-mu), a small Fulangan village of sailors and fishermen, and was told that the wedding was a very poor one, chiefly due to the low rank and poverty of the intermarrying clans. It was also somewhat irregular, because none of the close relatives of the bride, who came from Vatoa, a small island about 48 miles south of Fulanga, were present, and because the bride was pregnant. The usual Christian marriage ceremony in the mission church had been performed six months before, and the young couple had been living together in the house of the groom's father, but the native wedding rites had been delayed until sufficient food and property could be accumulated. Usually in Lau a Christian marriage ceremony takes place on the day of the wedding before the native rites.

Three days before the wedding, preparations for the feast began in the village, and a large sailing canoe set out for Namuka to collect kava, tobacco, yams, and barkcloth from relatives of the young man, to supplement deficiencies in the Fulanga supplies. The day before the ceremonies the women of the village went on a large fishing expedition. Pigs are usually the most essential wedding food, and the social standing of a clan depends on the number of pigs killed for the occasion, but pigs are scarce in Naivindamu and none were killed for this wedding.

Early in the morning of the wedding day, relatives began to arrive from the other villages on Fulanga. A few came by canoes from the neighboring island of Ongea. A group of men sat smoking and drinking kava in a lively circle on the mound of a house under construction. A large mat sail, leaning against the house framework, protected the house mound from the sun. Some old men were wrapping balls of sweet pudding made of breadfruit in leaf bags. Two of the island belles were making and serving kava in a six-legged

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554 585 614 wooden bowl, and a few girls sat on the fringe of the circle but did not drink.

The men were joking and telling stories. One told a yarn [164] about two men present who had both legs grotesquely swollen by elephantiasis. As healthy young men these two had left Fulanga to seek wives on Namuka, an island famed for its beautiful girls. They were absent nine years, but when finally they returned, instead of lovely young brides they brought home swollen legs from Namuka! This story was greeted with roars of laughter in which the two men joined. One of them, however, immediately retaliated with a long tale of the exploits of his ancestors, to which the others listened politely.

[252] Most of the women and girls were busy in the kitchen houses, steaming edible greens which they boiled with fish in coconut cream for the feast. They made wreaths of leaves, flowers, and strips of hibiscus bark to wear around their necks, and stuck sprays of sweet smelling flowers over their ears. The young men were busy making a pudding of the 252 starch of a tuber (*Yacca pinnatifida*). They stirred red-hot 585 stones in a wooden bowl filled with the starch mixed with water. Toward noon, two large earth ovens, full of ripe breadfruit, sliced pumpkin and tapioca pudding were covered with green leaves and earth. Two hours later the ovens were opened and the food was removed and placed in baskets until its distribution after the ceremonial exchange of property.

585 The bride and groom took no part in these festivities. The 614 bride, looking none too happy, sat with a group of women in the house of the groom's father which was her headquarters. If her father had been living in the village his house would have been used. The groom, looking dull and bored, stayed in or near his headquarters on the other side of the village. In the middle of the afternoon when the ceremonial exchange of property (called *solevu*) between the two inter-marrying

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634 interpret his people to the colonial officials. In this way
177 develop compromises which ease the adjustment between the old and the new in Fiji. Ratu Sukuna is one of the ablest and best trained government officials in the South Seas and represents the ideal in colonial political administration.

634 The three newly created native government offices, the *roko,*
554 the *mbuli,* and the village headman, have had a marked
177 effect on the native ranking system in Fiji. The office of *roko* in Lau, for instance, has reinforced the power of the high chief. Since this office, even under the old system, did not descend automatically according to a strict law of succession, but shifted between the ranking clans of Lakemba according to personality and political power as well as rank, the new regime has not seriously changed the method of selection. Whereas the high chief was formerly selected from the eligible nobles by a group of high ranking elders, now the government officials help the native elders to select the chief, and the man appointed is installed not only as high chief of Lau under the title of chief of Naiau (*Tui Naiau*) but also as highest native government official (next to the district commissioner in the province) under the title of high chief (*Roko Sau*).

The title of *mbuli,* on the other hand, does not always dovetail so well into the native system. In the district of Kambara, for instance, theoretically the titular chief of the district (namely Tchosaia, headman of a noble clan Vuanikathu of Tokalau) should hold the office of *mbuli Kambara.* However, the title of *mbuli Kambara* is held by Anitelu of Nasau, highest ranking clan on Namuka. This refers to the year 1933-34. Anitelu is an intelligent and able young man still in his thirties. When he was younger he spent some time in Tonga. He has introduced many Tongan customs (for instance, barkcloth makers' guilds for women) to Namuka. His enterprise is to a great extent responsible for the industriousness and high standard of living found on this island.

Since Anitelu lives on Namuka, a minor island in the

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Kambara district, Masi, headman of a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu, has been appointed assistant *mbuli Kambara* in order to govern Kambara, the largest island in the group. Masi is a man of about seventy years. The appointment of a man from Tanggu instead of Tokalau has raised the status of Masi's clan as well as of the village of Tanggu. It has added fuel to the keen competition between the nobles of Tokalau and Tanggu for highest rank in the district.

The main point in the controversy is this: according to tradition a famous warrior (Tchiaotchi) of Masi's clan, Tanggu, united the island and first held the title of chief of Kambara. He was succeeded by his sister's son (Manoa), and it was not until the Tongan regime in Lau that the present ranking clan of Tokalau gained the chieftainship and later, with the coming of the British government, the first *mbuli-ship*.[19] The nobles of Tanggu, however, have never relinquished claim to superior hereditary rank, and to this day look upon the nobles of Tokalau as political parvenus.

The appointment of Masi to the highest political title on Kambara (namely assistant *mbuli Kambara*) not only substantiated his clan's historical claim, but also had a strong effect upon Masi himself. Masi is an exceedingly sensitive and proud old man, jealous of every claim or mark of prestige. He is, at the same time, shy and ingratiating, but in his own home a minor dictator. On our first visit to Tanggu I stayed in his house, the largest and most imposing in the village. The house, however, had a sheet-iron roof which rendered it useless during the heat of the day. On a second visit to the village, therefore, I accepted an invitation

[19] Tchiaotchi was succeeded by Manoa of the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau. Manoa was sister's son (*vasu*) to Naivotavota. Under Tongan influence, however, Timothe Thakau of the Vuanikathu clan, Tokalau, succeeded Manoa. He was installed chief of Kambara, and with the introduction of the British colonial government became the first *mbuli Kambara*. Hence politically Tokalau is considered the ranking village on the island. Since the death of Timothe Thakau, his son Tchosaia has been the titular chief of Kambara, but on account of the *mbuli* system he has never been installed.

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554 177 634 to use the thatched house of the chief of the lower class in the village (called *Tui Nggalinggali*). When Masi heard of this arrangement he immediately walked half-way around the island to see us, and begged us with tears in his eyes to accept his hospitality and not that of the chief of the lower class. Such an arrangement, he felt, would be a personal slight.

554 177 578 634 Masi's appointment undoubtedly fanned the flames of jealousy between Tokalau and Tanggu, the two rival villages on Kambara. This reached a high point when the whole island was preparing for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau. The production of tribute objects (i.e. two canoes, sails, mats, and tapa) and the preparations for the feast and ceremonies took several months. As the date of the visit drew near a quarrel arose between Tokalau and Tanggu because the latter insisted upon having two separate ceremonies, one for west Kambara at Tokalau, and one for east Kambara at Tanggu. Long and heated discussions were [623] held at frequent village assemblies, and nearly every day individuals representing one side or the other would visit us and whisper new developments in the affair. Each side remained adamant, but the matter was quickly settled when the district commissioner announced upon arrival that he could stay only a few hours on the island. Both factions then united in the ceremonies at Tokalau, but many individuals on the east side consequently missed the festivities.

634 614 554 159 The division of political power in the Kambara district has deeply affected the ranking clan of Tokalau and especially its headman, Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. For five months I lived next door to Tchosaia, an old man of about seventy years, in one of his houses in the clan compound, and learned to know him well. Tchosaia lived alone in the largest house in the village. It was well built on a stone-faced mound over a meter high, and decorated with cowry shells, a symbol of rank. We were accepted by the clan and took

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part in all its activities. Tchosaia, who no longer did any physical work, spent much of his time in my house chatting over the kava bowl. He was a man with "mana", feared and respected on the island. He had a keen and independent mind, a sense of humor, and a naturally dignified chiefly manner. In a matter involving precedence he was always accorded highest rank.

As a young man, Tchosaia spent much time traveling, both in Fiji and in Tonga and living at the high chief's court at Lakemba. He learned to speak the Mbauan and the Tongan languages. According to the old ceremony for preparing kava, the kava root was chewed by noble youths before being placed in the kava bowl and mixed with water. Kava chewing has been forbidden, and today the root is either pounded on a stone slab with a stone hammer or crushed in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle. Formerly Tchosaia was one of the noble youths who chewed kava for the high chief. When we knew him he still had a perfect set of strong white teeth which he attributed to kava chewing. At Lakemba he learned the complicated court etiquette and court phraseology used only when addressing the high chief and nobles of highest rank in Lakemba. Instead of the ordinary words, extravagantly flattering or descriptive metaphors are used for the parts of the body, the actions, and the relationships of nobles. For instance, a chief's eye is called "brightness", his ear "bird's wing", his body "ivory skin", and head "place above". A chief's house, always centrally located, is the "center of the town". When a chief speaks he "makes sound", when he dies he "falls" or "sleeps".[20]

Tchosaia's experience and training at the chief's court set him apart from the other Kambarans, who considered him the best authority on olden times, on the traditions and customs of the nobles, and on Lauan folklore. He knew from memory

[20] A. M. Hocart, "The Lau Islands, Fiji," Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 47-48.

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159 the genealogies of most of the clans on the island and could trace his clan genealogy back about ten generations.

159 Although highly respected as a personality, Tchosaia had lost prestige as an island chief on account of the newly created 558 political offices. He was in direct line of succession, but was 622 never installed as chief of Kambara because of the *mbuliship*, 178 according to informants. Formerly, the chief of an important island like Kambara received the first fruits of the harvest from the whole island. First fruits are no longer presented regularly on Kambara. When we were there, however, he received one-half of the first fruits of one village (Tokalau) only. The other half was presented to the highest government officer of the village, namely the village headman. This loss of prestige is keenly felt by Tchosaia, who is a reactionary. He is the only man on the island who does not attend the mission church.

159 To compensate for his diminishing power, Tchosaia has 756 become a prominent medicine man. He specializes in cases of "spirit possession" and "soul loss" (see page 129) and his cures are effected mainly by supernatural means. Hence he [774] is feared in the community, not only because of his chiefly "mana" but also because of his control of the spirit world. [187] When we had known Tchosaia some time he told us how he received his medicines. One night, when he was about fifty years of age, two of his ancestor gods appeared to him. They gave him "mana" and medicine to cure the sick. Since that time he has been a successful witch doctor.

159 The case of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara, shows ●554 how one individual has met the problems caused by changing 622 standards of prestige in Lau. A different type of adjustment has been made by the chief of Mothe. Although neither the chief nor a member of his clan holds the *mbuliship* on Mothe, the chief of Mothe has retained more prerogatives than has the chief of Kambara. He is still installed, according to the traditional ceremony of binding a piece of tapa about the

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upper arm, as chief of the island. Moreover, the first fruits of the whole island are still presented regularly to him. In every ceremony he is accorded the honors of a real, not a titular chief. This is due partly to the fact that his title is clear. There is no confusion regarding the relative rank of clans on Mothe as there is on Kambara. Furthermore, the chief of Mothe is more closely related to the high chief of Lau than the chief of Kambara, since the chief of Mothe and the high chief have a common ancestor five generations back, whereas the chief of Kambara and the high chief have a common ancestor about ten generations back.

The recently created political office of village headman plays an important part in village affairs. The village headman is responsible for the actual enforcement of the native regulations which provide for the communal performance of all activities considered beneficial to the community. These activities include gardening, village planning, house building and sanitation, maintenance of roads and communal property, and the control of infectious diseases. Besides these executive duties the headman welcomes guests and calls village assemblies to decide matters of communal importance.

The headmen of the villages we visited were generally men of rank and ability. I gained the impression that they were executing their duties ably. This was especially true in the village of Tokalau. Ketei of a noble clan (Vuanitavola) was acting village headman in place of Inoke, the son of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. Inoke was absent on contract labor in Taveuni for the year. Ketei was the most industrious man in the village. He carried out his duties quietly and effectively, and Tokalau was known as one of the cleanest villages in Lau. The village was kept free of bush and was swept by communal labor.

The office of village headman has practically eliminated the old title of village chief. For instance, the headman of a sub-clan (Matandravu) in Tokalau holds the title of "chief-

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Offenses against the native regulations, which control such aspects of communal life as village planning, sanitation, house building, and gardening, are tried in special district and provincial courts for natives only. The district court for natives has jurisdiction over natives of a district and is presided over by a native stipendiary magistrate. Petty offenses against native regulations are tried in it.[23] Appeal from the district court may be made to the provincial court for natives. This court has jurisdiction over a magisterial province. The provincial court is composed of the district commissioner of the province sitting with the native stipendiary magistrate, and has minor criminal and civil powers over the natives and can hear petitions for divorce from natives.[24] Appeal from the native provincial court may be made to the supreme court of the colony.

These native courts are supplements to the administration of justice in the provinces. Throughout the colony justice is administrated by means of a supreme court and various district courts of summary jurisdiction.[25]

Justice in the colony is enforced by the constabulary which consists of over two hundred police officers divided into twenty-six detachments.[26] None of this force is stationed in southern Lau. Natives sentenced to serve a jail term are taken from the southern islands to the jail at Lakemba. A

[23] The district court deals with offenses involving a maximum penalty of 40 shillings or imprisonment for two months, and in civil matters up to the value of 80 shillings.

[24] The actual decision in divorce cases is, however, made by the chief justice of the colony.

[25] The supreme court is presided over by the chief justice. It has the same jurisdiction as that of His Majesty's high court of justice in England. It is also a court of equity and court of probate. The supreme court has four sessions per year in Suva and also a circuit. Appeal may be made in certain cases to the judicial committee of the privy council.

The district courts of summary jurisdiction, both criminal and civil, are presided over by the district commissioner. On the criminal side he has the power to inflict a maximum penalty of six months' imprisonment, and on the civil side to deal with claims of value less than £50.

[26] In 1936 the constabulary was composed of 18 Europeans, 88 Indians, and 111 Fijians. (*Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 56.)

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696 554 term has not the stigma attached to it one might expect, however. For instance, Malakai of Tokalau was the village schoolmaster and had an acceptable standing in the community in spite of the fact that he had served a jail term for having stolen money while holding the position of *mbuli Kambara.*

691 626 Practically all court cases in Lau involving natives are handled by the district and provincial courts for natives only. Native district courts are held in preparation for the native provincial circuit court which sits on each island every two or three years. Most of the cases are either truancy or theft. There is a reluctance, however, on the part of the natives to submit cases to the government courts. Public opinion works two ways. It not only serves as a powerful force to prevent breaches of the social code, but it prevents many petty offenses from reaching the courtroom. In southern Lau there is a tendency to settle as many cases as possible out of court. This is possible only because of the strong sense of clan and communal loyalty. A man tries to protect his relatives, especially the members of his clan. This is illustrated by the following case.

691 673 602 One day Ketei, the industrious village headman of Tokalau, came to us with an earnest face. Twenty baskets of sweet potatoes had been taken without permission from his garden in the last three days. This represented the loss of about ten days' food supply for his family. Ketei said he would not have minded the loss, if the person who took them had only asked his permission. We asked if he knew who had taken them. He said he did not. He would not confide even his suspicions to us, but the gossip of the village was that Ramoko of Undu, Ketei's brother-in-law, had taken the sweet potatoes. Ramoko was known as the laziest man in Undu. At the slightest excuse, such as the new year's celebration (introduced in recent times), he moved with his wife and three children to live for two or three weeks with Ketei, his industrious brother-in-law, who always had plenty to eat as a result of hard and persistent

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labor. Ketei, however, made it a point of clan honor never to complain about a relative, and when the district court met the Ramoko case was not filed.

Theft cases frequently conflict with the native system of soliciting (called *kerekere*). According to this system, a man may solicit any movable property (which is not tabu) from his relative, who is obliged, in order not to lose face, to grant his request. The system weakens the link between a man and his personal or clan property, and shortens the step to theft.

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476 614 ceremonies and a feast. Tabus are placed upon specialists while working for a high chief, and the products of their labor and certain types of work such as preparation of food for the earth oven are tabu to women and boys.

554 The elaborate ranking system is reflected in every phase of the economic life. The work of production is classified according to rank. For instance, skilled workmanship, such as lashing complicated designs or measuring the curved purlin of a house, is done only by the master carpenter; turtles are netted only by men of the chief group under the master fisherman. Moreover, rank is shown in the distribution and consumption of goods. Even in the daily consumption of food by household or sub-clan groups, precedence is paramount. The women and children do not eat until they have served the men in order of rank. Food at a feast is shared according to formal procedure. The chief's portion (which consisted in pre-Tongan times of the head of the pig or turtle as the part containing the most "mana", but now consists of the back, due to Tongan influence) is presented first, then the portion of each clan, according to rank. Formerly the best of everything was reserved for the chief. He received an offering of the first fruits of the harvest, and after a fishing expedition all turtles and certain large fine fish were presented to him. These customs are still practiced on islands like Mothe [177] where the institution of chieftainship has been only slightly modified in recent times, but they survive only in part on islands like Kambara where native political officials have gained much of the power formerly held by the chief.

556 431 The philosophy underlying the Fijian economic system is fundamentally different from the western competitive capitalistic system in that social prestige is acquired not through the accumulation of wealth but through its distribution. Fijian systems of distribution differ fundamentally from western ones. They concentrate on competitive generosity in gift exchange, which works against the accumulation and

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435 436 (*tambua*) of the sperm whale. The whale's tooth serves as a medium of exchange and as a means by which wealth can be accumulated, condensed, and stored. It cannot, however, serve as a standard of value because its ceremonial significance imparts to it an immeasurably sacred value which cannot be compared with the exchange value of other objects. The [556] indefinite term "big" (*levu*) is used to express victory in the economic competition of gift exchange. The donor whose gift is "big" wins prestige.

431 556 476 The Lauan principle of gift exchange emphasizes communal industry and group prestige rather than individual enterprise. It would completely discourage initiative were it not reciprocal and self-perpetuating. In an exchange of property each party seeks to give more than he receives and thus through a material loss to secure a social gain. But the gain in prestige is not permanent. A man or group must continue to distribute in order to maintain the acquired status. Hence it is really the far-sighted, industrious man or group which wins in the long run. Work is rewarded and laziness loses out.

732 158 554 The case of Wai illustrates the point. Wai is a half-caste whose mother was a native from the island of Komo and whose father was a European. He is the most maladjusted individual on Kambara. He is physically handicapped not only because of his small bones and relatively short stature but also because he limps badly. Any physical defect such as lameness, blindness, or elephantiasis is mocked by the natives, and on this account Wai has had his share of ridicule. [797] Besides, Wai is classed as a bastard which, since the advent of [848] the missionaries, has been severely censored. Since his father was a European, the natives insist that he has no clan and no land. However, he has been given the use of land in the clan of his wife's mother who came from Tokalau.

158 554 Wai is known as the laziest man on Kambara. At the time of our visit to Kambara he had a house in Tokalau, but the thatched roof leaked, and he with his wife and bastard

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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son lived in the house of his wife's cross cousin and family of ten. Malakai not only sheltered but also fed Wai's family. Wai neither fished nor cultivated the land he was allowed to use, but roamed about the bush satisfying his hunger with fruits, nuts, and wood grubs, and by soliciting or filching from the gardens of his wife's relatives. Once we watched him hunting edible wood grubs which live in rotted tree trunks. The saliva ran from his mouth when he discovered a nest of them, and in a very short time he had consumed all forty-six grubs. Often when we had planned a day's trip to another village Wai would miraculously appear out of the bush to beg a canoe ride, which could not be refused without losing face, and partake of the feast of welcome prepared by our hosts. In spite of his frequent thefts and general shiftlessness Wai managed to keep out of court by the ingenious method of disappearing from the islands just before the native provincial circuit court was scheduled to arrive, and returning to continue his parasitic existence after it had left. Wai is an example of a man who exploited the institution of soliciting. His was the lowest standard of living on Kambara and he held the lowest social status.

WHITE MAN'S GOLD

Votavota ko lewa, mata tha,
Ndigitaka ka levu, ka visa.

Your evil eye esteems your share too small,
And prompts you greedily to aim at all.

Fijian proverb.[35]

Before mission teachings had gained a foothold on Kambara, the introduction of the sweet potato from Tonga, and later of the South American tapioca from Vanua Vatu in Lau, according to informants, began to revolutionize the economic

[35] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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439 neglected, and the natives began to buy food from the store.
245 The native culture began to break down. The trade cutter
178 almost completely replaced the sailing canoe, and during this period the large double war canoe disappeared. The art of pottery making by the Levuka women of Lakemba[38] fell into disuse as native clay pots were displaced by large imported metal ones. The technic of making fish hooks was lost, and imported paraphernalia such as lines, nets, and ropes were used instead of native products. Iron roofs appeared on the houses of the most prosperous natives, and even a few small metal tanks were used to catch the rain water from them.

[554] A factor of great significance in the decline of native material culture during this period was the social prestige attached to all imported articles. Everyone strove to buy as much as possible from the store, and the number of imported articles which a group possessed was limited only by its ability to pay the price in copra. Clothes, iron roofs, canned food, and metal tools all became the means by which a person might raise his status in the community.

464 At this time native labor was in great demand, especially
177 on copra plantations in many parts of Fiji, and large numbers of young men from the southern islands left their villages under contract to work for periods of a year or more. While away the young men came under greater western influence than had penetrated to the isolated southern islands, and when they returned they brought not only new goods and money but also new ideas. The loss of the young men of the village not only cut the available supply of labor but also upset the balance of sexes in the villages. It led to the post-
[161] ponement of the marriage age of the young people. In spite of this factor the population of Lau began to increase.

439 As in many parts of the South Seas, the period of prosperity
245 in Fiji ended abruptly with the slump in the price of copra
435 after the world war. Largely because of overproduction and

[38] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," op. cit.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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539 OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Endua nomu wangga levu,
Endua nomu vuai levu.

If you have a great canoe
Great will be your labor too.[42]

000 Aside from the copra industry there is little likelihood that the islands of southern Lau will become important commercially. Hence sound economic development must lie along the lines of native economy: namely gardening, craftsmanship, and native trade.

431 554 As we have seen, the life of the native Lauan economic system lies in ceremonial gift exchange. Moreover, the *solevu* and kindred types of native exchange are the most significant channels through which the fundamental Lauan drive for prestige, formerly expressed in warfare, now may find an outlet. Any serious attempt to infuse new life into the culture must recognize the vital need of the Lauan for such expression. Stimulation of native exchange would infuse new life not only into the native economic system but also into the culture as a whole.

431 554 178 Economic policies in Fiji, however, tend to discourage ceremonial exchange. Large ceremonial exchanges and the native soliciting system have been suppressed, and the tribute demands a chief may make have been limited. Also the economic burdens of a clan have been lightened, especially during the traditional ceremonies. For instance, the time when the father of a new-born child is obliged to feed the group of female relatives who attend the mother, and when the relatives of the deceased are obliged to feed the group of mourners, has been restricted from ten to four days. Doubtless there was formerly a great deal of waste and abuse connected with the ceremonial exchange of property in Fiji, which these recent changes have tended to correct, but at the same time the corrections have been carried so far that the whole economic

[42] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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structure and, consequently, the vitality of the culture have suffered seriously.

It is easy to understand how in a group of islands with limited natural resources and inadequate food supply the economic drain of large-scale exchanges would be considered devitalizing, but as a matter of fact the opposite reaction seems to result. Reasonably heavy demands apparently act as a stimulant in a group like the southern Lau islands where production is difficult. The necessity of production against odds and of competition with rival groups gives just that stimulus necessary to avoid self-pity because of the discriminations of nature, and to attain proficiency and even superiority of craftsmanship over groups situated in a more favorable environment.

This is characteristic of the native economic life of Melanesia. In the barren Amphlett islands off the southeast coast of New Guinea, for instance, superior clay pots are made, even though the local clay is so poor that clay must be imported from Fergusson island in the D'Entrecasteaux, a day's journey by canoe. Amphlett pots are superior to any others in British New Guinea and are exported mainly in exchange for food to the Trobriands, the Marshall Bennetts, Murua, the northern islands of the Dobu people and Goodenough in the D'Entrecasteaux group, and to settlements on the mainland of New Guinea between Cape Vogel and East Cape.[43] The natives of the rocky islet of Toulon, Mailu, on the southeast coast of New Guinea are not only good potters and traders, but they are expert in the manufacture of *Conus* shell armbands, an important native trade article in the region. Not only do they collect their own supply of *Conus* shell as far east as the Louisiades, but they import armshell bands from the Massim, regrind them, and sell them along the coast to the west.[44] Further examples of the effect of unfavorable

[43] L. Tueting, "Native Trade in Southeast New Guinea," *Bishop Museum Occasional Papers*, Vol. 11, No. 15, 1935, pp. 14-15.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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797 Deity. The old mythology and much of the folklore was suppressed. The Bible was translated into the Mbauan dialect, which was reduced to written form and later became the official language of Fiji. A death struggle was waged against the native priesthood, temples, warfare, cannibalism, human sacrifice, and polygamy.

For at least fifteen years the natives resisted the new religion. Finally, however, with the gradual infiltration of western trade articles such as gunpowder, fire arms, and metal tools, the strong native opposition broke down. As soon as the chiefs were convinced by these material objects that the white man's God had more powerful "mana" than their own gods, they accepted the white man's religion.

Once embraced by the chiefs, the gospel spread quickly throughout the group. It was carried into the isolated parts of Fiji like southern Lau by native converts. Mission churches, built in the style of native houses, were established on each island, and native missionaries, trained at mission centers like Lakemba, were put in charge of them. The nobles became pillars of the Church. In the Christianized communities Sunday was introduced as a day of rest and rites. On this day Church services consisting of prayers and responsive readings, a sermon and hymns (translated into Mbauan and accompanied by westernized Tongan music), followed by a native feast, were held. Modified Christian rites were added to the old native ceremonies which marked birth, marriage, [272] and death. The drinking of kava was forbidden, but inasmuch as ceremonial kava drinking along with dancing and the exchange of property marked all important occasions in Lau, the custom was not stamped out. On the contrary, whereas formerly kava was drunk only by men of high rank, now men and women of all classes partake of the beverage.

554 177 The native religion was so closely integrated with the rest of life that a radical change in it affected the whole culture. Complete suppression of warfare in the group had reverbera-

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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tions throughout the native culture. It led to the development of other outlets for the acquisition of prestige, such as the distribution of wealth and the emphasis on craftsmanship. However, part of the tremendous energy formerly devoted to this most vital group activity was suppressed and as a result native life was devitalized.

The effect of Christianity upon the native spiritual world has been profound. Lowering the old ancestor gods to the status of devils, and raising the Christian Deity to omnipotence has caused a deep conflict of loyalties in the minds of the natives. Even today they feel guilty because they are neglecting their old gods, and they say this neglect is responsible for their present lack of vitality which they characterize as an absence of "mana". Although a few courageous individuals still propitiate their ancestors secretly in the bush, the old religion has been effectively suppressed. Moreover, most of the Fijian mythology, theology, and folklore has been lost.

In spite of the apparent success of the mission, its spiritual message failed to a considerable extent to reach the natives because they were totally unprepared by their outlook on life to comprehend it. Gradually, as the Lauans have adapted western ideas to their own, Christian ceremonial has mingled with native rites. The gospel taught by the missionaries has tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value. The new religion has become a channel for acquiring social prestige. To be a good Christian today gives an individual standing in the community and a native missionary wields considerable power.

Malamala, the native missionary on Kambara, is a native of a noble clan of Tanggu. On account of his office, however, he does not live in Tanggu, but has moved into a large house opposite the mission church in Tokalau. His sacerdotal office and his rank in the upper class make him one of the leading elders of the island, and he is careful to assume great dignity

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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797 in everything he undertakes. Usually when he goes to the other side of the island to conduct services he travels in state [622] in his canoe, conspicuously decorated with white cowry shells, a symbol of chieftainship. He is dressed in the height of fashion—a fresh white shirt, a black *lavalava* and a blue woolen coat, even on the most sultry day. If he travels by [554] land he walks slowly, swinging his cane, a symbol of rank. He is followed a few yards behind by his assistant, a youth who carries a small imported satchel. At the beginning of the service he takes from this satchel a Fijian Bible and a pair of spectacles set with plain glass. Attached to one rim is the price tag, which shows that the glasses were bought in the store. Before beginning to read he carefully dons the spectacles, but is no whit disturbed if, in the heat of the service, they slip down the bridge of his nose.

797 182 631 Especially did Christianity have a far-reaching effect on the native social organization. The breakdown of the ancestor cult undermined the inner structure of the native system of ranked clans. It took the sacredness out of chieftainship and broke the power of the tabu, which formerly maintained law and order in society. Moreover, the increased emphasis on personality rather than rank weakened the power of the chiefs. The mission tried to uphold chieftainship by encouraging the natives to pay tribute and abide by the commands of their chiefs, and the colonial officials followed mission policy. Their aim was to reinforce the power of the chiefs by appointing them as colonial officials and thus to utilize the native social system for political purposes as far as possible. However, in applying this plan, personality as well as rank had to be considered, and frequently chiefs were passed over in favor of gifted individuals of lower rank. Hence authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs was divided between chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

178 575 In recent times individuals deprived of hereditary power and of warfare, their principal emotional outlets, have found

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 ; OQ6 Lau OQ6

sennit. This nice balance of labor between the sexes in Lau has been disturbed by the diminution in the production of women's crafts, due mainly to the government's prohibition of the *solevu*, the women being left with a considerable amount of time on their hands which they formerly used in creative activity. The men, on the other hand, tend to labor more than ever, trying to compensate for the diminished food supply. But since garden lands are insufficient in quantity and quality on most islands to cover the needs of the population without importing food, regardless of the amount of energy expended in gardening by native methods, food is scarcer than ever. It should be added that, although the supply of hardwoods, found only on the limestones, is limited, there seems to be little danger that the forests will be depleted by the small amount of timber cut for canoes and craft goods by means of native technology. Thus, instead of operating to prevent wastage of energy and resources, the prohibition of the *solevu* actually operates toward throwing out of line the nicely adjusted system of food production and distribution and the balanced sexual division of labor in the community, reducing the work and creativity of the women, increasing the work of the men, and engendering a food shortage on many of the islands.

The entire system of production and distribution described above, it should be noted, is basically accommodative and co-operative, and it is effected with a minimum of coercion, since rewards in the form of group prestige go automatically to the group (and incidentally also to the individual) who willingly gives or contributes most to the whole. Stinginess means loss of prestige. Within the system, however, rivalry between groups functions as a creative stimulus toward the goal of increased production of high quality products and more equitable distribution of these to the whole community. Apparently it is an indispensable ingredient contributing toward the self-maintenance and self-regulation of the system. Moreover, institutionalized, competitive group-giving prevents the development of an economic monopoly which might otherwise emerge in an area where the distribution of local resources is irregular and where rank and status are highly developed. Under it not even the chiefs may keep their tribute but rather, under penalty of losing face, must redistribute it to their followers. Thus, traditionally, the system prevents the accumulation of wealth in the hands of any one group or individual, and it insures that community resources will remain available to the whole group for immediate use according to need.

Before concluding we should note one more point which is vital to an understanding of the Lauan system of production and distribution described above. Despite its fine adjustment to the ecological setting and its basically self-perpetuating nature, this system could not operate effectively unless it were counterbalanced by a psychocultural arrangement which functioned to regulate and limit the size of the human population in relation to the resources of

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
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able to return again to its body,' said Ligadua, 'for no world-man has ever yet come back from Burotu.'

"But Tui Liku continued to beg very hard, until at last Ligadua consented. But he warned him to follow exactly in his footsteps, and also to do everything exactly as he did, or Tui Liku would never return again to earth.

"So they went down to the beach where the surf-waves were rolling in. 'Now, when a white wave comes, wait, and do nothing; and when a black wave comes, wait, and do nothing; but when a red wave comes, jump. For the red wave is the true ferry-boat to Burotu,' said Ligadua.

"Whereupon he called out, *Lele mai Mua Vesi, Lele mai Mua Vesi* (bend over towards us a 'chiefly canoe'—meaning the red wave the colour of *vesi*-wood—for at Ono the *mua vesi* were the canoes of chiefs alone in those days; the common people, as now, using hollowed coco-nut logs for their canoes). And then a red wave came, and they both jumped, but the spirit only of Tui Liku went on with Ligadua to Burotu, for his body was washed back on to the beach. And the name of that place is 'Vunikatavatu.'"

* * * * *

"So they reached Burotu Island, and entered the town, which was a noble town with fine